

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA  
BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA  
AND THE PACIFIC REGARDING THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH ASIA**

**June 14, 2005**

Mr. Chairman:

I thank you for holding this hearing on the United States and South Asia. This hearing comes only a few days after we marked up the State Department Authorization bill in which we were able to include language relating to democracy in Pakistan and this is an issue I hope we fully address this morning.

President Bush stated in his Inaugural Address that “it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world” and I trust his great mission of American diplomacy includes restoring a fully functional democracy in Pakistan in which President Musharraf, as promised, resigns his military commission as army chief and in which free, fair and transparent elections are held to reverse Pakistan’s historic trend toward unstable governance and military interference in democratic institutions.

I am also hopeful that the Administration will reconsider its decision to sell F-16s to Pakistan. F-16s are capable of delivering nuclear weapons and, while Pakistan is an important partner in the campaign on terror, Pakistan has a history of using U.S. weapons platforms against India as was the case in 1965 when Pakistan launched a war against India using F-104s it had purchased from the U.S. in 1960.

Pakistan also has a history of nuclear proliferation. A.Q. Khan, the popular father of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program, confessed to selling nuclear technology abroad to North Korea, Libya and Iran, and President Musharraf pardoned him for it. While the U.S. and Pakistan have held talks on installing new safeguards on Pakistan’s nuclear weapons, to date, Pakistan will not accept any demand for access to or inspections of its nuclear and strategic assets, materials and facilities.

In view of these troubling developments, I am deeply concerned by the Administration’s decision to sell F-16s to Pakistan at a time when the U.S. knows little about Pakistan’s nuclear weapons program or capabilities. I am also concerned that this sale will take place at a time when the U.S. has no assurances that these weapons will not be used to strengthen non-democratic forces in Pakistan.

As of now, Pakistan seems unable or unwilling to end the exfiltration of Islamic militants from territory under its control. Insurgents continue to cross into Afghanistan to

attack U.S.-led forces and extremist groups continues to send militants into Indian-controlled Kashmir. While we praise the India-Pakistan peace initiative, I submit that it is irresponsible for the U.S. to sell F-16s to Pakistan when, as the respected International Crisis Group has noted, “successive military governments have brought Pakistan to a point where religious extremism threatens to erode the foundations of the state and society.”

For the record, I also wish to note that Pakistan will receive about \$2.64 billion in direct U.S. assistance for FY2002-2205. Almost half of this (\$1.13 billion) is security related. In other words, Pakistan is not lacking in U.S. military assistance and therefore it is ludicrous for the Administration to suggest that we must sell Pakistan F16s in order for Pakistan to “feel secure” and to stabilize “the balance” of power between Pakistan and India.

Moreover, I fail to see the logic behind this initiative by the Administration other than to add more fuel to the fire by forcing India now to rethink its own strategic and military needs and come to a simple conclusion that our nation is not to be trusted and India should depend more on other countries in the region for its own security. What in the world are we doing here?

India is the largest democracy in the world and Pakistan is not a democracy – let’s be clear about this. Until and unless Pakistan makes serious efforts to democratize its system of government, I believe we ought not to fool ourselves by selling Pakistan F-16 fighters under the guise of fighting terrorism. Again, F-16s are capable of delivering nuclear weapons and all Pakistan has to do is pull the trigger and we’ve just created a nuclear nightmare.

While the Administration may tout that the Indian government supports the sale of F-16s, I say what choice does India have? Is this what the people of India want? I know it is not what the Indian American community wants and USINPAC has actively opposed the sale. At the same time, the government of India says it is ok with the sale and it is difficult to stop a sale that the government supports. But I ask -- is the government of India okay with the sale because it believes the U.S. will include India in its missile defense program or offer India something more?

On the other hand, is the Administration pushing this sale so that the defense industry can add more profits to its coffers? Before President Eisenhower left office he made a strong statement about the military defense industry profiteering at the expense of men getting killed. The defense industry is a multibillion industry and I believe the sale of F-16s to Pakistan is more about corporate America’s needs and less about the war on terrorism just as President Eisenhower feared it would one day be.

One could make the argument that if we don’t sell our military hardware to Pakistan then perhaps the Europeans or others might benefit by selling their hardware to Pakistan. But should this be justification? For now, we’ve persuaded the Europeans not

to sell military equipment to China but at the same we say it is okay for us to sell F-16s to Pakistan. This doesn't make sense.

Against this backdrop, the Administration stated that it seeks to "help India become a major world power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" and I am hopeful that Assistant Secretary Rocca will clearly define what this means. As a natural ally that shares the same democratic values as the United States, I am hopeful that the Administration will recognize India as a global strategic partner by including India in the Missile Defense Program and in the Joint Strike Fighter Program which is scheduled to begin in 2007 and now includes Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, Italy, Norway, Turkey, and the U.S. I am also hopeful that the Administration will support India's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

This said, I welcome our witnesses and I look forward to their comments and testimony.